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expert advisers, and should anything in the agreement be found incompatible with the spirit of the covenant, changes will be recommended, and these changes will undoubtedly be accepted by the three nations involved. The whole procedure constitutes one of the most striking recognitions of the League's authority so far recorded, and as such it ought to cheer and encourage every believer in the League of Nations as a means to obtain universal peace.

EDWIN BJÖRKMAN.

NEW YORK CITY, December 7, 1920.

## BOOK REVIEWS

ARGENTINE OF TODAY. Edited by William Belmont Parker. The Hispanic Society of America, New York City. Two volumes.

This "Who Is Who" of the most wealthy and populous of the Spanish-speaking republics contains biographies (and in many cases portraits) of 420 persons pre-eminent in the various vocations that give dignity and worth to society. The editor is a Harvard graduate, a trained expert in publicity, and a successful projector of enterprises, cultural and commercial. He has done his work in Buenos Aires, where he has had the National Library and the Library of Congress to fall back upon, as well as the aid of some of the most eminent journalists and publicists of the city. These are creditable volumes of a *vade mecum* series the value of which to foreign commentators on Argentine affairs can hardly be overestimated. Cuba, Chile, Bolivia, and Peru have previously been dealt with in the same way by the same editor, working under the same generous patron, the Hispanic Society. When completed, the series will be a creditable memorial of North American and South American co-operation in an effort to make ignorance give way to knowledge.

AND THE KAISER ABDICATES. By S. Miles Bouton. Yale University Press, New Haven. Pp. 271. \$2.50.

This is the serious comment of a former Associated Press representative in Berlin, who was in that city and in Vienna during the first months of the war; who was with the German army on all fronts during 1914-16, and who later went to Stockholm and Copenhagen in the service of the Department of State. He watched the changes in Germany during the period between the downfall of the Kaiser and the signing of the armistice and went into Berlin as soon as the armistice was signed. He studied the "Spartacan" uprising and the first struggles of the "German Republic" to stabilize conditions. Such value as the book may have inheres in its cold facts and not in its colorful style. It is difficult to believe that a man could see so much and describe it in such an unimpassioned fashion. Romanticists will call the book dull. Realists may rate it high for its very objectivity. When the author looks forward he is scarcely less dispassionate. It is a proletarian, radical, altered world he visualizes, with Germany unalterably changed from her monarchy and militarist rule; but whether it is to be a "red" or "white" form of internationalism and proletarian rule, he does not prophesy. He does not hesitate to say that the Versailles Treaty has "Balkanized Europe" and has revived smoldering race antagonisms, created dozens of new irredeemables, and placed tens of thousands of persons under foreign yokes and tried to insure the permanency of their subjection. Consequently, internationalism is on the march among intellectuals as well as among wage-earners of all countries of Europe.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH. By Zechariah Chafee, Jr. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. New York City. Pp. 431, with bibliography, appendices, and list of court cases. \$2.50.

From the Harvard University Law School, with Dean Roscoe Pound as its head, there has come much progressive and even radical thinking during the first two decades of the century, thought fostered by a faculty of which the author of this book is a member. In the controversy, induced by the recent war, over the legitimacy and wisdom of executive,

legislative, and judicial pronouncements and acts, Professor Chafee has been conspicuous, and notably in his co-operation with other eminent lawyers and teachers of law, in protest against policies of the Department of Justice under the rule of the present head of the same, Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer.

Professor Chafee expressly disclaims atheism, anarchism, pacificism, socialism, or communism as essentials of his personal creed. He has no sympathy with the views of most of the men who have been imprisoned since the war began for candid expression of their beliefs. His interest in the problem, which he has discussed with erudition, much amassing of evidence and rare good sense in this book, is partly professional, partly personal—as a conservative who wants to be left with some degree of freedom and some rights when radicalism comes into power—and also humanistic. He is concerned with aiding in definition of the precise limits of free speech rather than in defending it as an unlimited right. He never doubts that there is a point which when once passed by the individual, then society, acting through the government, must interfere.

Intent on informing his countrymen as to just what has been done during and since the war and preferring to discuss his thesis in terms of the concrete, Professor Chafee has plunged promptly into the fray, but not before he has dealt with the large topic of "freedom of speech in war time." And his conclusion is that both Congress and the Supreme Court must ever remember that social welfare and love of truth have to be given an equal chance. Both interests must be guarded and kept unimpaired, and "the great interest in free speech should be sacrificed only when the interest in public safety is really imperiled, and not, as most men believe, when it is barely conceivable that it may be slightly affected." He puts the boundary line "close to the point where words will give rise to unlawful acts." Nor will most congressmen, senators, attorneys general, and judges differ. Indeed, he claims that the wisest judicial comment of the period is that of Judge Learned Hand, of the United States District Court, New York City, to whom the book is dedicated; and Judge Hand has persistently taken this position.

There is no book like this work in its range of data and comment and variety of approach to the fundamental principles involved not only in free speech, but in an open, free immigration policy and an aggressive deportation of aliens program. The cases of the Socialists of New York's Assembly and of Victor Berger, the Wisconsin congressman, are analyzed. A suggestive chapter has to do with freedom of thought and speech in educational institutions, and everything possible has been made to give the book contemporaneous value.

THE MORALS OF ECONOMIC INTERNATIONALISM. By J. A. Hobson. Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. Pp. 69. \$1.00.

This brief volume includes lectures given at the University of California when the eminent English author was last in the country. The lectures were given on a foundation established to discuss the "Morals of Trade"—a fact in itself somewhat significant. Mr. Hobson charges that the standard of international morality is lower than that of corporate (business) conduct, which in turn is lower than personal morality. Especially is this international immorality noticeable in matters of commercial intercourse.

He is of the opinion that "if the interests of consumers and the interests of producers weighed equally in the eyes of governments, as they should, the strongest of all obstacles to a peaceful, harmonious society of nations would be overcome; for the suspicions, jealousies, and hostilities of nations," he says, "are inspired more by the tendencies of groups of producers to misrepresent their private interests as the good of their respective countries than by any other single circumstance."

Mr. Hobson is convinced that the two primary duties of the civilized nations today are, first, immediate salvage and restoration of Europe, and, second, preparation for permanent co-operation or agreement as to "equitable use of the economic resources of the world." In the work of salvage he includes not only giving alms to the foodless and clothless, but the maintenance of credit of nations too weak other-

wise to retain productive power; and in this latter work he contends that the only ethical policy to be followed is that of giving preference to the weak, not the strong.

Economic nationalism, he argues, like political nationalism, must give way to internationalism, if war is not to follow war; for countries that are restricted economically will fight for liberation in this field; and, besides, the internal conditions which economic strangulation of the small and weak by the big and mighty create and foster class war and dissolution of the political organism of all nations.

Mr. Hobson champions use of the "world's wealth for the world's wants"; and he, as a friendly Briton, urges the United States to so shape its world policy—political, diplomatic, and economic—in a way to assume leadership in a new era, where nations will use their "nationality, not for the achievement of some selfish separate perfection, but for the ever-advancing realization of national ends within the wider circle of humanity."

**A RELIGION FOR THE NEW DAY.** By *Charles F. Dole*. B. W. Huebsch, Incorporated, New York City. Pp. 297.

In the "foreword" of this volume we find the statement that "most people profess a religion in which they do not truly believe." The statement is easier to make than to prove, and it is typical of the facile generalizations as to universal conditions in which armchair critics, with limited personal knowledge of the lives of masses of men, often indulge. Forecasting the new era, Mr. Dole deliberately eschews consideration of religious institutions and ceremonies. They mean little to him. Hence he argues that they do not mean much to others, whereas the greater half of the total enrolment of religionists is based on institutional loyalty and on ritual rather than on theology or sharply differentiated ethical codes.

Dr. Dole is on sure ground when he says that "the world immensely needs religion," and that "there is no enterprise of human reform and betterment that is not dying at the top for need of religion." Had political leaders, social welfare workers, internationalists, and leaders of labor unions, as well as masters of industry, been more religious, they could, in Dr. Dole's opinion, understand democracy better.

Dr. Dole's "religion for the new day" is one of "good will." Indeed, he says that "good will is the most constructive and beneficent name of God." Good will, in his opinion, is a tonic for the body and a cure of disease. It is the solvent of internal and external strifes. It precludes the use of force, even for such a laudable purpose as to create a league of nations.

Especially in the realm of strife between labor and capital, once industrial democracy has been sent up, does this free-lance Unitarian divine believe that his gospel of good will will have an unchallenged rule. All other schemes have broken down. It might be added, so has that.

**ITALY AND THE WORLD WAR.** By *Thomas Nelson Page*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York City. Pp. 403, with appendices. \$5.00.

Mr. Page was American ambassador to Italy from 1913 to 1919. He was able to understand the motives that led Italy to enter the war and co-operate against Germany, with which nation her commercial, financial, and diplomatic relations had been so close for years; and he had an equal opportunity to note the methods by which she defeated Austria. Consequently, this book is a bit of testimony that is valuable to buttress up the case of Italy at the bar of public opinion. Of necessity the book must be subjected later to the test of analysis by more dispassionate persons, men who can view the nation's record in the light of all the facts.

Italy certainly owes a debt to her American friend. She could hardly have a more ardent one. Of course, a literary artist like Mr. Page has not failed to give estimates of characters like Giolitti, Sonino, Nitti, and d'Annunzio that are

full of insight and are interpretative; and they enliven what in the main is a rather drably written narrative, about which one cannot help feeling that its author, in his effort to avoid fiction, has made fact far too colorless. He also has been most discreet. His standards of honor and privacy are much higher than some English authors have disclosed in their books on the war. The Virginia gentleman's code prevents him from tattling and gossiping. The reader gets calm argumentation, steady marshaling of facts, and sober opinions, but not much "anecdotalage." The author has a case to make out at the bar of public opinion and he takes his job seriously; which is quite right.

**PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ANDREW CARNEGIE.** By *Fredrick Lynch*. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York City. Pp. 184.

Rev. Mr. Lynch, as educational secretary of the Church Peace Union, which was one of the later creations of Mr. Carnegie's altruism, had much intercourse with the most eminent of recent Scotch-Americans. He saw Mr. Carnegie in the latter's home life and in his public activities, and he used the opportunities for note-taking and chronicling of sayings and deeds of the patron of peace in a way that will make this book valuable always for latter-day students of the personality of the iron-master who became the friend of statesmen and men of letters. Naturally, Mr. Lynch induced in Mr. Carnegie a degree of candor with respect to his ethical motives and his religious beliefs such as possibly no other friend won, and the chapters of this book which deal with this side of the character of the industrial captain are especially valuable.

**BOLSHEVISM: PRACTICE AND THEORY.** By *Bertrand Russell*. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York City. Pp. 192.

Mr. Russell, an English philosopher of eminence, who also is a publicist in the sense of being active in discussion of the larger problems of social reconstruction and world politics, made an investigation of Russia in 1919-20 that led him to conclusions quite contrary to his hopes as a communist. He still thinks that, as "a splendid attempt, Bolshevism deserves the gratitude and admiration of all the progressive part of mankind"; but its methods, "rough and dangerous," he cannot condone, because they aim to create "a new world without sufficient preparation of the opinions and feelings of ordinary men and women," and because the practice of the proletarian dictatorship involves a departure from the democratic ideal. Nor has he any use for the dogmatism and absence of scientific temper which is so marked a characteristic of the philosophy and the practice of Lenin.

The incorrigible reverence for truth, as he sees it, and the unvarying habit of truth-telling which this "intellectual" representative of a famous Whig family of statesmen has acquired has caused this book to have a profound effect upon the group of British and American radicals who had been "parlor Bolsheviks" and who swore by Lawrence as a thinker. To that extent it is an era-making book; for, since its publication, both persons and journals that had been making a demi-god of Lenin have toned down their eulogies somewhat. They do not care to be quite as dogmatic as they used to be, nor as credulous.

**THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK.** By *Arthur Sweetser*. The Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. 215. \$1.75.

Mr. Sweetser's presence in Paris while the League was being formed and the facilities he then had for knowing what was being done, his official connection with the first session of the International Labor Conference, held in Washington in accordance with the provisions of the League, and his present position on the provisional secretariat of the League make him a competent writer of this first handbook, dealing with the League as a working organization. Naturally he is sympathetic with all that has been attempted, done, or that it is planned to do.

**NOTICE TO READERS:**—The Index to Volume LXXXII (1920) of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is now ready and will be sent free to any one applying for it.